

## Recent Publications

The June Turbulence in Beijing

How Chinese View the Riot in Beijing

Fourth Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee

Report on Putting Down Anti-Government Riot

Retrospective After the Storm

VOA Disgraces Itself

# Report on Putting Down Anti-Government Riot

NEW STAR PUBLISHERS

# **Report on Checking the Turmoil and Quelling the Counter-Revolutionary Rebellion**

June 30, 1989

Chen Xitong, State Councillor  
and Mayor of Beijing

New Star Publishers  
Beijing 1989

## **Report on Checking the Turmoil and Quelling the Counter-Revolutionary Rebellion**

From June 29 to July 7 the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress — the standing organization of the highest organ of state power in the People's Republic of China — held the eighth meeting of the Seventh National People's Congress in Beijing. One of the topics for discussing at the meeting was a report on checking the turmoil and quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing.

The report by state councillor and mayor of Beijing Chen Xitong explained in detail the process by which a small group of people made use of the student unrest in Beijing and turned it into a counter-revolutionary rebellion by mid-June. It gave a detailed account of the nature of the riot, its severe consequence and the efforts made by troops enforcing martial law, with the help of Beijing residents to quell the riot. The report exposed the behind-the-scene activities of people who stubbornly persisted in opposing the Chinese Communist Party and socialism as well as the small handful of organizers and schemers of the riot; their collaboration with antagonistic forces at home and abroad; and the atrocities committed by former criminals in beating, smashing, looting, burning and killing in the riot. The report severely criticized the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Zhao Ziyang for his mistake in this political struggle of supporting the riot and thereby splitting the Party.

First Edition 1989  
Published by New Star Publishers  
*Printed in the People's Republic of China*

The meeting carefully examined and discussed Chen Xitong's report and endorsed the Resolution on Checking the Turmoil and Quelling the Counter-Revolutionary Rebellion. The resolution pointed out that checking the turmoil and quelling the counter-revolutionary riot was a just struggle which has won the understanding of many countries. It also pointed out that some countries which have failed to understand the situation for the time being will gradually understand when they have learned the truth of what really happened. At the same time, the report noted that there are countries and hostile forces deliberately distorting the situation in our country, attacking the measures we have adopted in safeguarding law and order and exerting political and economic pressure on us, unduly interfering in our internal affairs. Recently, the US House of Representatives passed an outrageous amendment designed to increase sanctions against our country. At this action, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress expressed great indignation. The People's Republic of China is an independent sovereign state, the Standing Committee noted, and will never allow a foreign state to interfere in its internal affairs. The Chinese people having once stood up, will never succumb to outside pressure, will unswervingly persist in carrying out an independent foreign policy on their own initiative, persist in a policy of opening up to the outside world and continue to develop friendly relations with various countries of the world based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, thus making its contribution to safeguard world peace.

The meeting also passed the resolution dismissing Zhao Ziyang from his post as vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission.

— *The editor*

**Chairman, Vice-chairman and Committee Members,**

During late spring and early summer, namely, from mid-

April to early June, of 1989, a tiny handful of people exploited student unrest to launch a planned, organized and premeditated political turmoil, which later developed into a counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing, the capital. Their purpose was to overthrow the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and subvert the socialist People's Republic of China. The outbreak and development of the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion had profound international background and social basis at home. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping put it, "This storm was bound to happen sooner or later. As determined by the international and domestic climate, it was bound to happen and was independent of man's will." In this struggle involving the life and death of the Party and the State, Comrade Zhao Ziyang committed the serious mistake of supporting the turmoil and splitting the Party, and had the unshirkable responsibility for the shaping up and development of the turmoil. In face of this very severe situation, the Party Central Committee made correct decisions and took a series of resolute measures, winning the firm support of the whole Party and people of all nationalities in the country. Represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation played a very important role in winning the struggle. The Chinese People's Liberation Army, the armed police and the police made great contributions in checking the turmoil and quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion. The vast numbers of workers, peasants and intellectuals firmly opposed the turmoil and the rebellion, rallied closely around the Party Central Committee and displayed a very high political consciousness and the sense of responsibility as masters of the country. Now, entrusted by the State Council, I am making a report to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion, mainly the happenings in Beijing, and the work of checking the turmoil and quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion.

### **One. The turmoil was premeditated and prepared for a long time**

Some political forces in the West have always attempted to make the socialist countries, including China, give up the socialist road, eventually bring these countries under the rule of international monopoly capital and put them on the course of capitalism. This is their long-term, fundamental strategy. In recent years, they stepped up the implementation of this strategy by making use of some policy mistakes and temporary economic difficulties in socialist countries. In our country, there was a tiny handful of people both inside and outside the Party who stubbornly clung to their position of bourgeois liberalization and went in for political conspiracy. Echoing the strategy of Western countries, they colluded with foreign forces, ganged up themselves at home and made ideological, public opinion and organizational preparations for years to stir up turmoils in China, overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party and subvert the socialist People's Republic. That is why the entire course of brewing, premeditating and launching the turmoil, including the use of varied means such as creating public opinion, distorting facts and spreading rumours, bore the salient feature of mutual support and coordination between a handful of people at home and abroad.

This report will mainly deal with the situation since the Third Plenary Session of the 13th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Last September, the Party Central Committee formulated the policy of improving the economic environment, straightening out the economic order and deepening the reform in an all-round way. This policy and the related measures won the support of the broad masses and students. The social order and political situation were basically stable. A good proof to this was the approval of Comrade Li Peng's government work report by an overwhelming majority (with a mere two votes against and four abstentions) at the National

People's Congress in the spring of this year. Of course, the people and students raised many critical opinions against some mistakes committed by the Party and the government in their work, corruption among some government employees, unfair distribution and other social problems. At the same time, they made quite a few demands and proposals for promoting democracy, strengthening the legal system, deepening the reform and overcoming bureaucracy. These were normal phenomena. And the Party and government were also taking measures to solve them. At that time, however, there was indeed a tiny bunch of people in the Party and society who ganged up together and engaged in many very improper activities overtly and covertly.

What deserves special attention is that after Comrade Zhao Ziyang's meeting with an American "ultra-liberal economist" on September 19 last year, some Hong Kong newspapers and journals which were said to have close ties with Zhao Ziyang's "brain trust" gave enormous publicity to this and spread the political message that "Beijing is using Hong Kong mass media to topple Deng and protect Zhao." In his article entitled "Big patriarch should retire" published in Hong Kong's *Economic Journal*, Li Yi (alias Qi Xin), editor-in-chief of the reactionary *Nineties* magazine, clamoured for "removing the obstacle of super old man's politics" and "giving Zhao Ziyang enough power." Another article in the *Nineties* appealed to Zhao to make himself an "autocrat." Hong Kong's *Emancipation* monthly also carried a lengthy article, saying that some people in Beijing had "overt or covert" relations with certain persons in Hong Kong media circles, which "are sometimes dim and sometimes bright just like a will-o'-the-wisp," and that such subtle relations now "have been newly proved by a drive to topple Deng and protect Zhao launched in the recent month." The article also said that "in terms of the hope of China turning capitalist, they settle on Zhao Ziyang." To coordinate with the drive of "toppling Deng and protecting Zhao," Beijing's *Economics Weekly* published a dialogue on the current situation

between Yan Jiaqi (research fellow at the Institute of Political Science under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) who had close ties with Zhao Ziyang's former secretary Bao Tong and another person. It attacked "the improvement of economic environment and the straightening out of economic order," saying that would lead to "stagnation." It also said that a big problem China was facing was "not to follow the old disastrous road of non-procedural change of power as in the case of Khrushchev and Liu Shaoqi." It said that "non-procedural change of power as in the 'cultural revolution' will no longer be allowed in China." The essence of the dialogue was to whip up public opinion for covering up Zhao Ziyang's mistakes, keeping his position and power and pushing on bourgeois liberalization even more wantonly. This dialogue was reprinted in full or parts in Shanghai's *World Economic Herald*, Hong Kong's *Mirror* monthly and other newspapers and magazines at home and abroad.

Collaboration between forces at home and abroad intensified towards the end of last year and early this year. Political assemblies, joint petitions, big- and small-character posters and other activities emerged, expressing fully erroneous or even reactionary viewpoints. For instance, a big seminar, "Future China and the world", was sponsored by the "Beijing University Future Studies Society" on December 7 last year. Jin Guantao, deputy chief editor of the *Towards the Future* book series and advisor to the society, said in his speech that "attempts at socialism and their failure constitute one of the two major legacies of the 20th century." Ge Yang, chief editor of the fortnightly *New Observer*, immediately stood up to "provide evidence," in the name of "the eldest" among the participants and a Party member of dozens of years' standing, saying "Jin's negation of socialism is not harsh enough, but a bit too polite." On January 28 this year, Su Shaozhi (research fellow at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Fang Lizhi and the

like organized a so-called "neo-enlightenment saloon" at the "Dule Bookstore" in Beijing, which was attended by more than 100 people, among them Beijing-based American, French and Italian correspondents as well as Chinese. Fang described this gathering as "smelling of strong gunpowder" and "taking a completely critical attitude to the authorities." He also said "what we need now is action" and professed to "take to the street after holding three sessions in a row." In early February, Fang Lizhi, Chen Jun (member of the reactionary organization Chinese Alliance for Democracy) and others sponsored a so-called "winter jasmine get-together of famed personalities" at the Friendship Hotel where Fang made a speech primarily on the two major issues of "democracy" and "human rights," and Chen drew a parallel between the May 4th Movement and the "democracy wall at Xidan." Fang expressed the "hope that entrepreneurs as China's new rising force will join force with the advanced intellectuals in the fight for democracy." At a press conference he gave for foreign correspondents on February 16, Chen Jun handed out Fang Lizhi's letter addressed to Deng Xiaoping and another letter from Chen himself and 32 others to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC), calling for amnesty and the release of Wei Jingsheng and other so-called "political prisoners" who had gravely violated the criminal law. On February 23, the Taiwan *United Daily News* carried an article headlined "Beginning of a Major Movement — a Mega-Shock." It said, "A declaration was issued in New York and open letters surfaced in Beijing; as the thunder of spring rumbles across the Divine Land (China), waves for democracy are rising." On February 26, Zhang Xianyang (research fellow at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Li Honglin (research fellow at the Fujian Academy of Social Sciences), Bao Zhunxin (associate research fellow at the Institute of Chinese History under the

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Ge Yang and 38 others, jointly wrote a letter to the CPC Central Committee, calling for the release of so-called "political prisoners."

Afterwards, a vast number of big- and small-character posters and assemblies came out on the campuses of some universities in Beijing, attacking the Communist Party and the socialist system. On March 1, for example, a big-character poster entitled "Denunciation of Deng Xiaoping — a Letter to the Nation" was put up at Qinghua University and Beijing University simultaneously. The poster uttered such nonsense as "the politics of the Communist Party consists of empty talk, coercive power, autocratic rule and arbitrary decision," and openly demanded "dismantling parties and abandoning the four cardinal principles (adherence to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, to the leadership of the Communist Party and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought)." A small-character poster entitled "Deplore the Chinese" turned up in Beijing University on March 2, demanding to overthrow "totalitarianism" and "autocracy." On March 3, there appeared in Qinghua University and other universities and colleges a "letter to the mass of students" signed by the "Preparatory Committee of the China Democratic Youth Patriotic Association," urging students to join in the "turbulent current for 'democracy, freedom and human rights' under the leadership of the patriotic democratic fighter, Fang Lizhi." On the campuses of Beijing University and other schools of higher learning on March 29, there was extensive posting of Fang's article "China's disappointment and hope" written for the Hong Kong *Ming Pao Daily News*. In the article, Fang claimed that socialism had "completely lost its attraction" and there was the need to form political "pressure groups" to carry out "reforms for political democracy and economic freedom." But what he termed as "reform" actually is a synonym of total Westernization. The big-character poster, "Call of the times" that came out in Beijing University on April 6, questioned in a way of complete

negation "whether there is any rationale now for socialism to exist" and "whether Marxism-Leninism fits the realities of China after all." On April 13, the Beijing Institute of Post and Telecommunications and some other schools received a "Message to the nation's college students" signed by the Guangxi University Students' Union, which called on students to "hold high the portrait of Hu Yaobang and the great banner of 'democracy, freedom, dignity and rule by law' " in celebration of the May 4th Youth Day.

Meanwhile, so-called "democratic saloon," "freedom forum" and various kinds of "seminars," "conferences" and "lectures" mushroomed in Beijing's institutions of higher learning. The "democratic saloon" presided over by Wang Dan, a Beijing University student, sponsored 17 lectures in one year, indicative of its frequent activities. They invited Ren Wanding, head of the defunct illegal "Human Rights League," over to spread a lot of fallacies about the so-called "new-authoritarianism and democratic politics." At one point they held a seminar in front of the Statue of Cervantes, openly crying to "abolish the one-party system, force the Communist Party to step down and topple the present regime." They also invited Li Shuxian, the wife of Fang Lizhi, to be their "advisor." Li fanned the flames by urging them to "legalize the democratic saloon," "hold meetings here frequently," and "abolish the Beijing Municipality's ten-article regulations on demonstrations."

All this prepared, in term of ideology and organization, for the turmoil that ensued. A *Ming Pao Daily News* article commented: "The contact-building and petition-signing activities for human rights initiated by the élite of Chinese intellectuals exerted enormous influence on students. They had long ago planned a large-scale move on the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement to express their dissatisfaction with the authorities. The sudden death of Hu Yaobang literally threw a match into a barrel of gun-powder." In short, as a result of the premeditation, organization and engineering by a small hand-

ful of people, a political situation already emerged in which "the rising wind forebodes a coming storm."

## **Two. Student unrest was exploited by organizers of the turmoil from the very beginning**

Comrade Hu Yaobang's death on April 15 prompted an early outbreak of the long-brewing student unrest and turmoil. The broad masses and students mourned Comrade Hu Yaobang and expressed their profound grief. Universities and colleges provided facilities for the mourning on the part of the students. However, a small number of people took advantage of this to oppose the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system under the pretext of "mourning." Student unrest was manipulated and exploited by the small handful of people from the very beginning and bore the nature of political turmoil.

This turmoil found expression first in the wanton attack and slanders against the Party and the government and the open call to overthrow the leadership of the Communist Party and subvert the present government as contained in the large quantity of big- and small-character posters, slogans, leaflets and elegiac couplets. Some of the posters on the campuses of Beijing University, Qinghua University and other schools abused the Communist Party as "a party of conspirators" and "an organization on the verge of collapse;" some attacked the older generation of revolutionaries as "decaying men administering affairs of the state" and "autocrats with a concentration of power;" some attacked by name the Chinese leaders one by one, saying that "the man who should not die has passed away while those who should die remain alive;" some called for "dissolving the incompetent government and overthrowing autocratic monarchy;" some demanded the "abolishment of the Chinese Communist Party and adoption of the multi-party system" and "dissolving of party branches and removal of political workers in the mass organizations, armed forces, schools and other

units;" some issued a "declaration on private ownership," calling on people to "sound the death knell of public ownership at an early date and greet a new future for the Republic;" some went so far as to "invite the Kuomintang back to the mainland and establish two-party politics," etc. Many big- and small-character posters used disgusting language to slander Comrade Deng Xiaoping, clamouring "down with Deng Xiaoping."

This turmoil, from the very beginning, was manifested by a sharp conflict between bourgeois liberalization and the four cardinal principles. Of the programmatic slogans raised by the organizers of the turmoil at the time, either the "nine demands" first raised through Wang Dan, leader of an illegal student organization, in Tiananmen Square or the "seven demands" and "ten demands" raised later, there were two principal demands: one was to reappraise Comrade Hu Yaobang's merits and demerits; the other was to completely negate the fight against bourgeois liberalization and rehabilitate the so-called "wronged citizens" in the fight. The essence of the two demands was to gain absolute freedom in China to oppose the Four Cardinal Principles and establish capitalism.

Echoing these demands, some so-called "elitists" in academic circles, that is, the very small number of people stubbornly clinging to their position of bourgeois liberalization, organized a variety of forums during the period and indulged in unbridled propaganda through the press. Most outstanding among the activities was a forum sponsored by the *World Economic Herald* and the *New Observer* in Beijing on April 19. The forum was chaired by Ge Yang and its participants included Yan Jiaqi, Su Shaozhi, Chen Ziming (director of the Beijing Institute of Socioeconomic Science), and Liu Ruishao (head of Hong Kong *Wen Hui Po* Beijing office). Their main topics were also two: one was to "rehabilitate" Hu Yaobang; the other was to "reverse" the verdict on the fight against liberalization. They expressed unequivocal support for the student demonstrations, saying that they saw from there "China's future and hope."

Later, when the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee made the correct decision on straightening things out in the *World Economic Herald*, Comrade Zhao Ziyang who consistently winked at bourgeois liberalization, refrained from backing the decision. Instead, he criticized the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee for "making a mess of it" and "landing itself in a passive position."

This turmoil also found expression in the fact that instigated and engineered by the small handful of people many acts were crude violations of the constitution, laws and regulations of the People's Republic of China and gravely running counter to democracy and the legal system. They put up big-character posters en masse on the campuses in disregard of the fact that the provision in the constitution on "four big freedoms" (speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters) had been abrogated and turning a deaf ear to all persuasion; they staged large-scale demonstrations day after day in disregard of the 10-article regulations on demonstrations issued by the Standing Committee of the Beijing Municipal People's Congress; late on the night of April 18 and 19, they assaulted Xinhuaamen, headquarters of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, and shouted "down with the Communist Party," things which never occurred even during the "cultural revolution;" they violated the regulations for the management of Tiananmen Square and occupied the square by force several times, one consequence of which was that the memorial meeting for Comrade Hu Yaobang was almost interrupted on April 22; ignoring the relevant regulations of the Beijing Municipality and without registration, they formed an illegal organization, "solidarity student union" (later changed into "federation of autonomous student unions in universities and colleges"), and "seized power" from the lawful student unions and postgraduate unions formed through democratic election; disregarding law and school discipline, they took by force school offices and broadcasting stations and did

things as they wished, creating anarchy on the campuses.

Another important device that the small number of turmoil organizers and plotters used was to fabricate a spate of rumours to confuse people's minds so as to agitate the masses. At the beginning of the student unrest, they spread the rumour that "Li Peng scolded Hu Yaobang at a Political Bureau meeting and Hu died of anger." The rumour was meant to spearhead the attack at Comrade Li Peng. In fact, the meeting focused on the question of education. When Comrade Li Tieying, member of the Political Bureau, State Councillor and Minister in charge of the State Education Commission, was making an explanation of a relevant document, Comrade Hu Yaobang suffered a sudden heart attack. Hu was given emergency treatment right in the meeting room and was rushed to a hospital when his conditions allowed. There was definitely no such thing as Hu flew into a rage.

On the night of April 19, a foreign language student of Beijing Teachers' University was run down by a trolley-bus on her way back to school after attending a party. She died despite treatment. Some people spread the rumour that "a car of the Communist Party's armed police knocked a student down and killed her," which stirred up the emotions of some students who did not know the truth.

In the small hours of April 20, policemen whisked away those students who had blocked and assaulted Xinhuaamen, and sent them back to Beijing University by bus. Some people concocted the rumour of "April 20 bloody incident," alleging that "the police beat people at Xinhuaamen, not only students, but also workers, women and children," and that "more than 1,000 scientists and technicians fell in blood." This further agitated some people.

On April 22, when Li Peng and other leading comrades left the Great Hall of the People at the end of the memorial meeting for Comrade Hu Yaobang, some people perpetrated a fraud with the objective of working out an excuse for attacking

Comrade Li Peng. First they started the rumour that "Premier Li Peng promised to come out at 12:45 and receive students in the square." Then they let three students kneel on the steps outside the east gate of the Great Hall of the People to hand in a "petition." After a while they said, "Li Peng went back on his word and refused to receive us. He has deceived the students." This assertion fanned strong indignation among the tens of thousands of students in Tiananmen Square and almost led to a serious incident of assaulting the Great Hall of the People.

Rumourmongering greatly sharpened students' antagonism towards the government. Using this antagonism, a very small number of people put up the slogan: "The government pays no heed to our peaceful petition. Let's make the matter known across the country and call for nationwide class boycott." This led to the serious situation in which 60,000 university students boycotted class in Beijing and many students in other parts of China followed suit. The student unrest escalated and the turmoil expanded.

This turmoil was marked by another characteristic, that is, it was no longer confined to institutions of higher learning or Beijing area; it spread to the whole of society and to all parts of China. After the memorial meeting for Comrade Hu Yaobang, a number of people went to contact middle schools, factories, shops and villages, made speeches in the streets, handed out leaflets, put up slogans and raised money, doing everything possible to make the situation worse. The slogan "Oppose the Chinese Communist Party" and the big-character poster "Long Live Class Boycott and Exam Boycott" appeared in some middle schools. Leaflets "Unite With the Workers and Peasants, Down With the Despotic Rule" were put up in some factories. Organizers and plotters of the turmoil advanced the slogan "Go to the South, the North, the East and the West" in a bid to establish ties throughout the country. Students from Beijing were seen in universities and colleges in Nanjing, Wuhan, Xi'an, Changsha, Shanghai and Harbin, while students

from Tianjin, Hebei, Anhui and Zhejiang took part in demonstrations in Beijing. Criminal activities of beating, smashing, looting and burning took place in Changsha and Xi'an.

Political forces outside the Chinese mainland and in foreign countries had a hand in the turmoil from the very beginning. Hu Ping, Chen Jun and Liu Xiaobo, members of the Chinese Alliance for Democracy which is a reactionary organization groomed by the Kuomintang, wrote "An open letter" from New York to Chinese university students, urging them to "consolidate the organizational links established in the student unrest and strive to carry out activities effectively in the form of a strong mass body." The letter told the students to "effect a break-through by thoroughly negating the 1987 movement against liberalization," "strengthen contacts with the mass media," "increase contacts with various circles in society" and "enlist their support and participation in the movement." Wang Bingzhang and Tang Guangzhong, two leaders of the Chinese Alliance for Democracy, made a hasty flight from New York to Tokyo in an attempt to get to Beijing and have a direct hand in the turmoil. A number of Chinese intellectuals residing abroad who stand for instituting the Western capitalist system in China invited Fang Lizhi to take the lead, and cabled from Columbia University a "declaration on promoting democratic politics on the Chinese mainland," asserting that "the people must have the right to choose the ruling party" in a bid to incite people to overthrow the Communist Party.

Someone in the US, using the name of "Hong Yan", sent in by fax "ten pieces of opinions on revising the Constitution," suggesting that deputies to the national and local people's congresses as well as judges in all courts should be elected from among candidates without party affiliation," in an attempt to keep the Communist Party completely out of the organs of state power and judicial organs.

Some members of the former *China Spring* journal residing in the United States hastily founded a China Democratic Party.

They sent a "letter addressed to the entire nation" to some universities in Beijing, inciting students to "demand that the conservative bureaucrats step down" and "urge the Chinese Communist Party to end its autocratic rule."

Reactionary political forces in Hong Kong, Taiwan, the United States and other Western countries were also involved in the turmoil through various channels and by different means. Western news agencies showed unusual zeal. The Voice of America, in particular, aired news in three programmes beamed to the Chinese mainland for a total of more than ten hours everyday, spreading rumours, stirring up trouble and adding fuel to the turmoil.

Facts listed above show that we were confronted not with student unrest in its normal sense but with a planned, organized and premeditated political turmoil designed to negate the Communist Party leadership and the socialist system. It had clear-cut political ends and deviated from the orbit of democracy and legality, employing base political means to incite large numbers of students and other people who did not know the truth. If we failed to analyze and see the problem in its essence, we would have committed grave mistakes and landed ourselves in an extremely passive position in the struggle.

### **Three. "People's Daily"'s April 26 editorial was correct in determining the nature of the turmoil**

From the death of Comrade Hu Yaobang on April 15 to the conclusion of the memorial service on April 22, Comrade Zhao Ziyang all along tolerated and connived at the increasingly evident signs of the turmoil during the period of the mourning, thus facilitated the formation and development of the turmoil. In face of the increasingly grave situation, many comrades in the central leadership and Beijing municipality felt that the nature of the matter had changed, and repeatedly suggested to

Comrade Zhao Ziyang that the central leadership should adopt a clear-cut policy and measures to quickly check the development of the situation. But, Zhao kept avoiding making a serious analysis and discussion on the nature of the matter. At the end of the memorial meeting for Comrade Hu Yaobang, comrades in the central leadership again suggested to Zhao that a meeting be held before his visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 23. Instead of accepting this suggestion, Zhao went golfing as if nothing had happened. Owing to his such attitude, the Party and the government lost a chance to quell the turmoil.

On the afternoon of April 24, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and People's Government reported to Comrade Wan Li. At his proposal, members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau met that evening, presided by Comrade Li Peng, to analyze and study seriously the development of the situation. A consensus was reached that all signs at that time showed we were confronted with an anti-Party and anti-socialist political struggle conducted in a planned and organized way and manipulated and instigated by a small handful of people. The meeting decided that a group for quelling the turmoil be established in the central leadership, requiring at the same time the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government to mobilize the masses fully, to win over the majority so as to isolate the minority and to strive to put down the turmoil and stabilize the situation as soon as possible.

In the following morning, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made an important speech, expressing his full agreement and support to the decision of the Political Bureau Standing Committee and making an incisive analysis of the nature of the turmoil. He pointed out sharply that this was not a case of ordinary student unrest, but a political turmoil aimed at negating the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system. Deng's speech greatly enhanced the understanding of the cadres and increased their confidence and courage in quelling the turmoil and sta-

bilizing the overall situation.

The *People's Daily's* editorial on April 26 embodied the decision of the Political Bureau Standing Committee and the spirit of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech, and pointed out the nature of the turmoil. At the same time, it made a clear distinction between the tiny handful of people who organized and plotted the turmoil and the vast number of students. The editorial made the overwhelming majority of the cadres feel reassured. It clarified the orientation of their activities, thus enabling them to carry out their work with a clear-cut stand.

After the editorial of the *People's Daily* was published, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government, under the direct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and the State Council, convened in quick succession a variety of meetings inside and outside the Party to uphold the principle and unify their understanding, then proceeded to clear up rumours and reassure the public by various means, render support to the leadership, Party and Youth League members and student activists in educational institutions, encourage them to work boldly, and persuade those students who took part in demonstrations to change their course of actions, and actively conduct a variety of dialogues to win over the masses. The dialogues, whether conducted by the State Council spokesman Yuan Mu and other comrades with the students or by leaders of relevant central departments with the students and principal leaders of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and people's government with the students, all achieved good results.

Meanwhile, earnest work was being carried out in the factories, villages, shops, primary and secondary schools and neighbourhoods to stabilize the overall situation and prevent the turmoil from spreading to other sectors of society. Various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions also did a good job in their respective localities according to the spirit of the editorial to prevent the influence of Beijing's situation from

spreading to other parts of the country.

The clear-cut stand of the April 26 editorial forced the organizers and plotters of the turmoil to make an about-turn in strategy. Before the publication of the editorial, large numbers of posters and slogans were against the Communist Party, socialism and the Four Cardinal Principles. After the publication of the editorial, the illegal Beijing Federation of Autonomous Student Unions in Universities and Colleges, issued on April 26 "No.1 Order of the New Student Federation" to change their strategy, urging students to "march to Tiananmen under the banner of supporting the Communist Party" on April 27. The designated slogans included "Support the Communist Party", "Support Socialism" and "Safeguard the Constitution." It also, at the suggestion of Fang Lizhi, changed their subversive slogans as "Down with the Bureaucratic Government," "Down with the Corrupt Government," "Down with the Dictatorial Rule," etc. into those like "Oppose Bureaucracy, Oppose Corruption and Oppose Privilege," and other slogans that could win support from people of various circles.

The Japanese Jiji News Agency then dispatched from Beijing a news story entitled "Young officials form a pro-democracy group," describing some figures in the so-called "Zhao Ziyang's brain trust" as "young officials of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and the government," noting that they "made frequent contacts with representatives of the new autonomous student unions in Beijing's universities and colleges including Beijing University, Qinghua University, People's University and Beijing Teachers' University, which took part in the demonstrations, and offered advice to the students." It also said that during the mass demonstration on April 27, the students held "placards of 'Supporting Socialism' and 'Supporting the Leadership of the Communist Party' at the instruction of the same group."

Leaders of the student demonstrations originally planned to stage "a hundred-day demonstration and a student strike of

indefinite duration." But the students lost such enthusiasm after the publication of the editorial.

Compared with the demonstration on April 27, the number of students taking part on May 4 dropped from over 30,000 to less than 20,000, and the on-lookers also decreased by a big margin. After the May 4 demonstration, 80 per cent of the students returned to class as a result of the work of the Party and administrative leaders of various universities and college. After the publication of the *People's Daily's* April 26 editorial, the situation in other parts of the country also became stabilized quickly. It was evident that with some more work, the turmoil, instigated by a small handful of people making use of the student unrest, was likely to calm down. A host of facts showed that the *People's Daily's* April 26 editorial was correct and played its role in stabilizing the situation in the capital and the whole country as well.

#### **Four. Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech on May 4 was the turning point in escalating the turmoil**

When the turmoil was about to subside, Comrade Zhao Ziyang, as General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, adopted a capricious attitude of going back on his words. At first, when members of the Political Bureau's Standing Committee solicited his opinion during his visit to Korea, he cabled back and explicitly expressed "full agreement with the policy decision made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping on handling the current turmoil." After he returned on April 30, he once again expressed at a meeting of the Political Bureau's Standing Committee his agreement with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech and the determination of the nature of the turmoil as made in the April 26 editorial, and maintained that the handling of the student unrest in the previous period was appropriate.

A few days later, however, when he met with representatives attending the annual meeting of the Asian Development Bank

on the afternoon of May 4, he expressed a whole set of views diametrically opposed to the decision of the Political Bureau's Standing Committee, to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech and to the spirit of the editorial. Firstly, as the turmoil had already come to the surface, he said "there will be no big turmoil in China;" secondly, when a host of facts had proved that the real nature of the turmoil was the negation of the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system, he still insisted that "they are by no means opposed to our fundamental system. Rather they are asking us to correct mistakes in our work;" thirdly, although facts had shown that a tiny handful of people was making use of the students unrest to instigate turmoil, he merely said that it was "hardly avoidable" for "some people to take advantage of this," thus totally negating the correct judgment of the Party's Central Committee that a handful of people were creating turmoil.

This speech of Comrade Zhao Ziyang's was prepared by Bao Tong beforehand. Bao asked the Central Broadcasting Station and CCTV to broadcast the speech that very afternoon and repeat it for three days running. He also asked the *People's Daily* to frontpage the speech the following day and to carry a large number of positive responses from various sectors. Differing views were held up and not even allowed to appear in confidential materials. Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech, publicized through the *People's Daily* and certain newspapers, created serious ideological confusion among the cadres and the masses and inflated the arrogance of the organizers and plotters of the turmoil.

The great difference between Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech and the policy of the Party's Central Committee not only evoked much comments at home but was also seen clearly by the media abroad. A Reuter dispatch said that Zhao's remarks constituted a sharp contrast to the severe condemnation of students a week earlier and that it was a major revision of the previous week's judgment. An article in "le Monde" on May 6

stated that it seemed that the Party chief (referring to Zhao Ziyang) remarkably turned the development of the situation to his advantage.

After the speech was thrown into the open, leading officials at various levels, the Party and Youth League members and the activists among the masses, particularly those working in universities and colleges all became confused. They were at a loss what to do and many voiced their objection. Some asked, "There are two voices in the central leadership. Who is right and who is wrong? Whom are we supposed to follow?" Some queried, "We are required to maintain identical views with the central leadership, but with which one?" Others complained, "Zhao Ziyang plays the good guy at the top while we play the villains at the grassroots." Cadres in universities and colleges and student activists as a whole felt being "betrayed" and troubled from a laden heart, some even shed tears. Work at the universities and colleges fell completely into passive position.

At that time, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and People's Government were also in a wretched plight. Although they knew opinions differed in the central leadership, they had to say against their will that the central leadership was unanimous and they only stressed different points. They had to ask the central leadership for instructions on many things, but Comrade Zhao Ziyang, as General Secretary, was reluctant to call a meeting. Under the strong demand of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and People's Government, a meeting was convened on May 8. But Zhao refused to hear the briefing of the Beijing authorities. At the meeting some comrade said Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech on May 4 was not in accord with the spirit of the April 26 editorial. Zhao sternly retorted, "I'll be responsible for what was wrong in my speech." At another meeting, when some one said that comrades at the grassroots, complained that they "had been betrayed", Comrade Zhao Ziyang rebuked, "Who betrayed you? People were betrayed only during the "cultural revolution". In those days,

quite a few people echoing Hong Kong and Taiwan newspapers, repeatedly attacked the comrades in Beijing Municipal Party Committee and People's Government who were working at the front lines. Hooligans yelled in the demonstrations: "The Beijing Municipal party Committee is guilty of making false reports to deceive the central leadership." In face of the worsening situation, certain contemplated measures could not be implemented.

In contrast to the above, organizers and plotters of the turmoil were encouraged by Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech. Yan Jiaqi, Cao Siyuan (director of the Research and Development Institute of the Stone Company) and others said that "things have turned for the better. It is necessary to mobilize the intellectuals to support Zhao Ziyang." Zhang Xianyang said: "Aren't we supposed to make use of the students? Zhao Ziyang is now doing just this."

Egged on by Comrade Zhao Ziyang and plotted by a few others, leaders of the Autonomous Student Unions of Beijing University and Beijing Teachers' University declared resumption of class boycott that night. Many other universities followed suit and organized "pickets" to prevent students from going to the classroom.

After that, a new wave of demonstrations surged ahead. On May 9, several hundred journalists from more than 30 press units took to the streets and submitted a petition. About 10,000 students from a dozen universities including Beijing, Qinghua and People's universities, Beijing Teachers' University and the University of Political Science and Law, staged a demonstration, supporting the journalists, distributing leaflets and calling for continued class boycott and a hunger strike.

Henceforth, the situation took an abrupt turn for the worse and the turmoil was pushed to a new height. Influenced by the situation in Beijing, the already calmed down situation in other parts of China became tense again. Shortly after Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech, a large number of student demonstrators as-

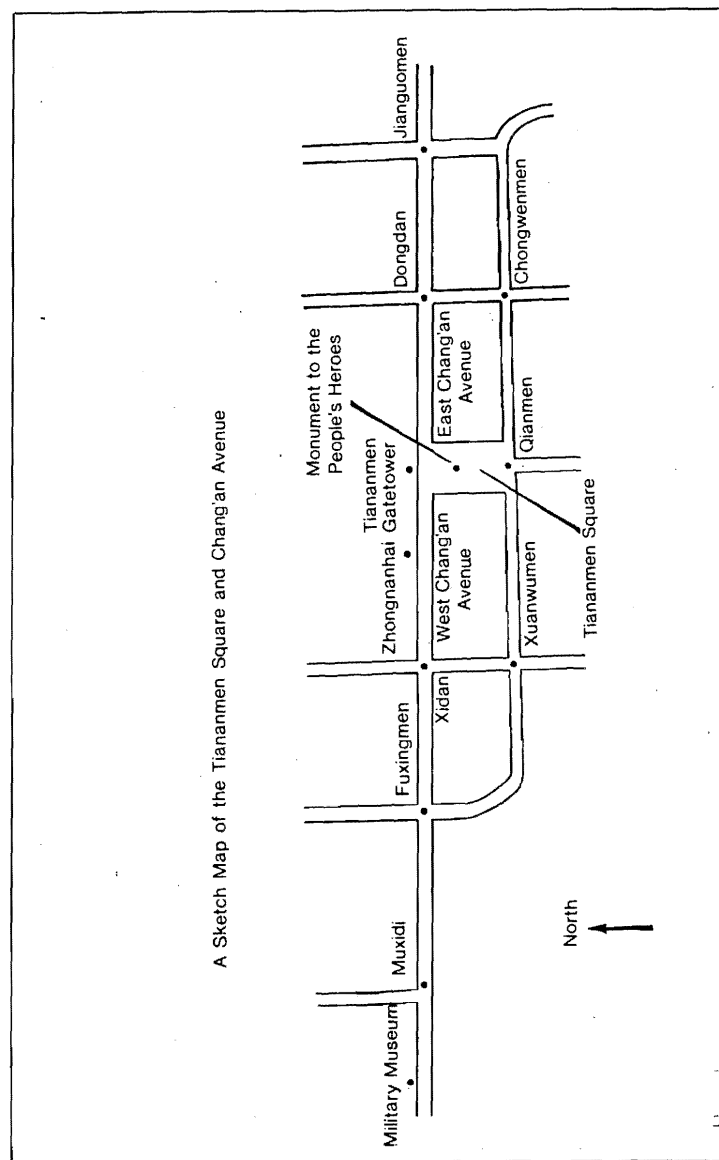
saulted the office buildings of the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee and Provincial Government in Taiyuan on May 9 and 10. They also assaulted the ongoing International Economic and Technological Co-operation Fair, the Import and Export Commodities Fair and the Folk Arts Festival. The above incidents exerted very bad influence both at home and abroad.

#### **Five. Hunger strike was used as coercion to escalate the turmoil**

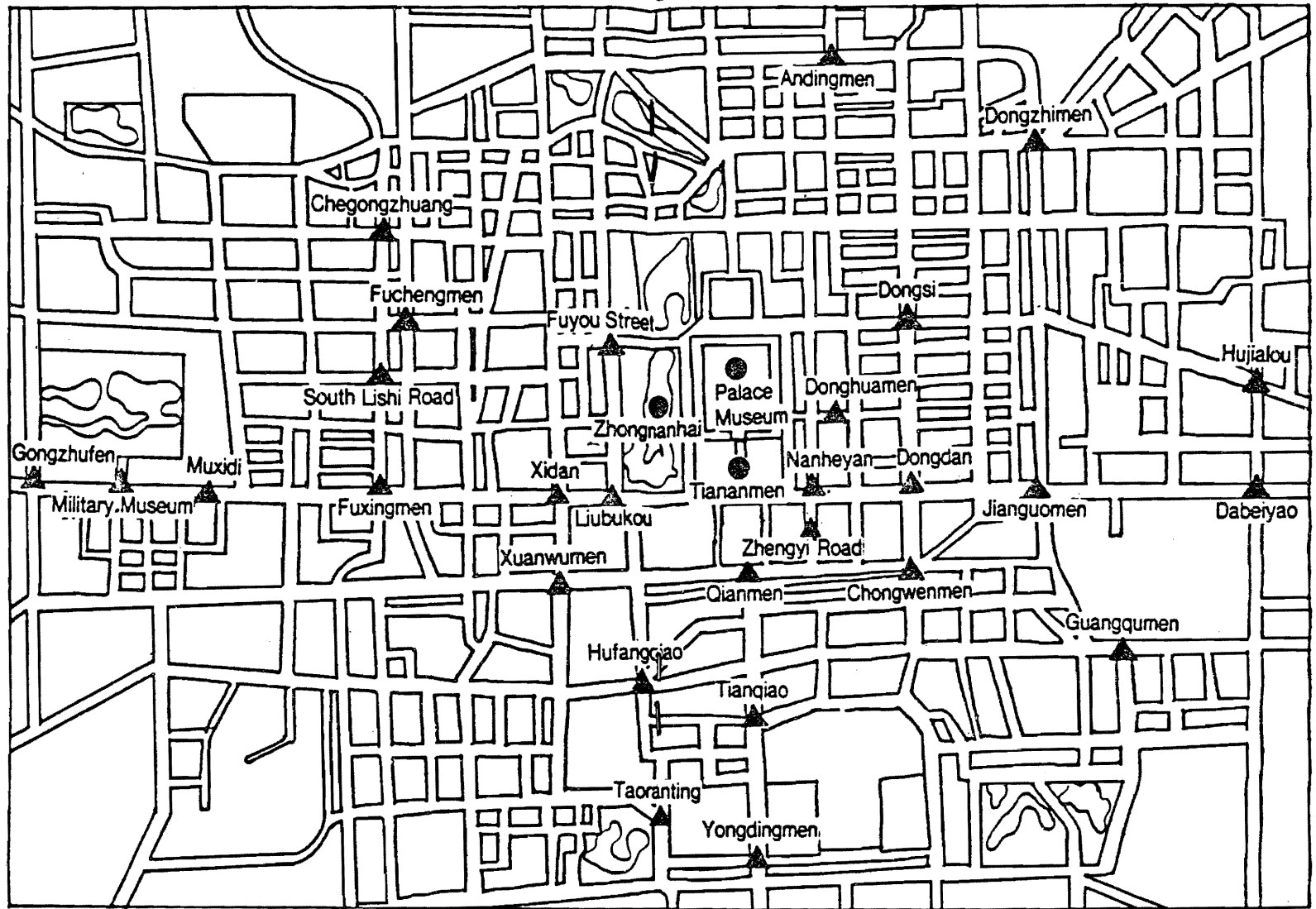
Good and honest people asked if the lack of understanding, consideration and concession on the part of the government had brought the students to make so much trouble? Facts are just the opposite.

From the very beginning of the turmoil, the Party and government fully acknowledged the students' patriotism and their concern about the country and people. Their demands to promote democracy, promote reform, punish official profiteers and fight corruption were acknowledged as identical with the aspirations of the Party and government, which also expressed the hope to solve the problems through normal democratic and legal procedures. But such good aspirations failed to win active response. The government proposed to increase understanding and reach consensus through dialogues of various channels, levels and forms.

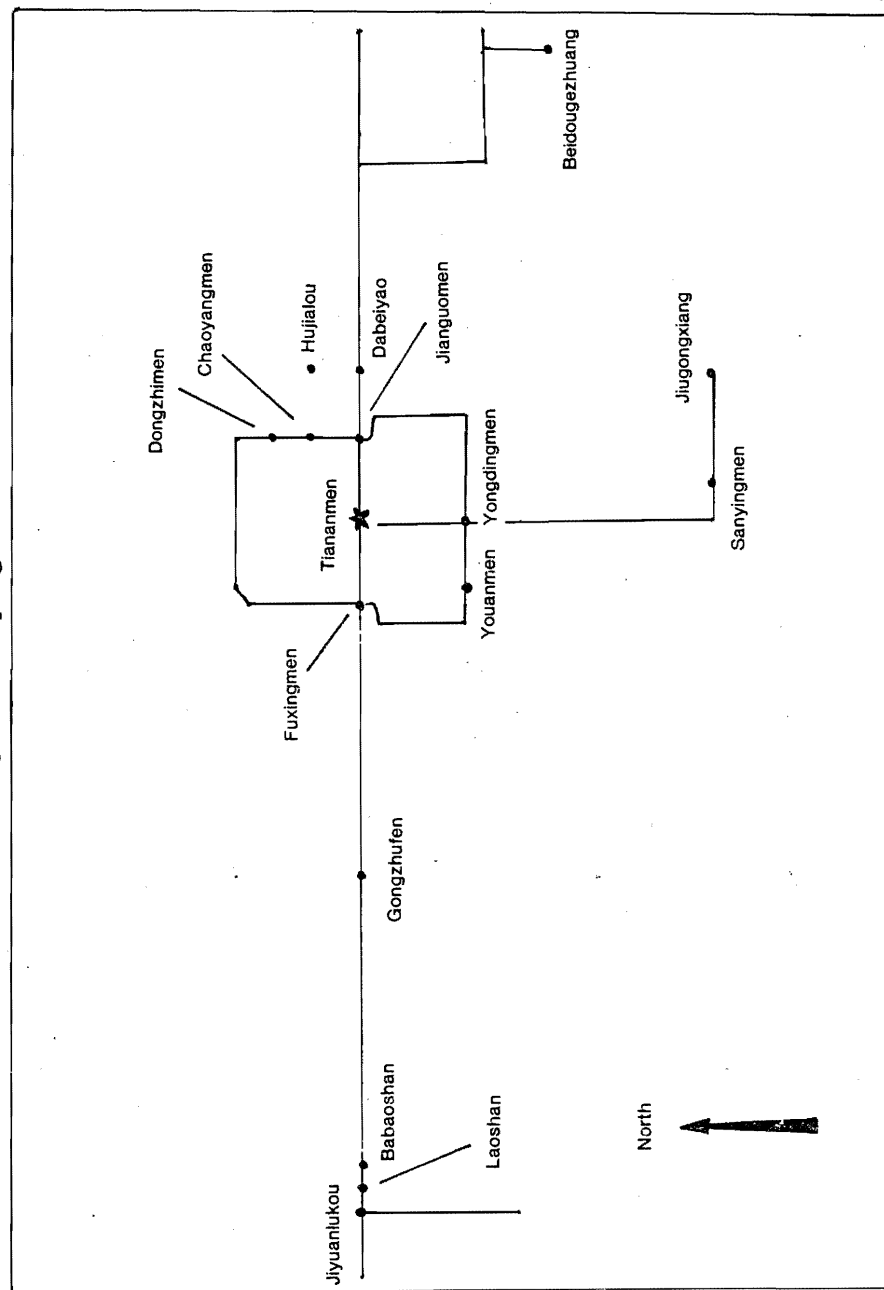
The illegal student organization, however, put forward very strict conditions as terms of the dialogue. They demanded that their partners to the dialogues "must be people holding positions at or above the Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, vice-chairman of the NPC Standing Committee and vice-premier"; "a joint communique on every dialogue must be published and signed by both parties"; and dialogues should be "held in locations designated in turn by representatives of the govern-



## Sketch Map of Beijing City Centre



Sketch Map of Beijing Suburbs



ment and students." These bore nothing like a dialogue but a stage-setting for political negotiations with the Party and government.

Especially after Comrade Zhao Ziyang's speech on May 4, the very small number of people took it as an opportunity, regarding the restraint on the part of the Party and government as a sign of weakness. They put forward harsher terms, adding increasing heat to the turmoil and escalating it.

Even under such circumstances, the Party and government still took the attitude of utmost tolerance and restraint with the hope to continue to maintain the channels for the dialogue in order to educate the masses and win over the majority.

At two o'clock on the early morning of May 13, leaders of the Federation of Autonomous Student Unions in Universities and Colleges raised the demand for a dialogue which was accepted two hours later by the General Office of the Party Central Committee and that of the State Council.

However, the students ate their own word and cancelled the dialogue at daybreak. On the morning of May 13, the bureaux for receiving letters and visits of the general offices of the Party's Central Committee, the State Council and the NPC Standing Committee again notified them of the decision to hold the dialogue with students on May 15.

Despite their agreement, the students began their manoeuvring in the number of participants in the dialogue. After the government agreed to their first proposed name list of 20 people, they then demanded the number be raised to 200. Without waiting for further discussion, they went to accuse "the government's insincerity for dialogue." Only four hours after they were informed of the dialogue, they hastily made public the long-prepared "hunger strike declaration," launching a seven-day fasting that involved more than 3,000 people and a long occupation of the Tiananmen Square since May 13 was chosen as the starting date of the hunger strike "to put pressure on them by way of Gorbachev's China visit," said Wang Dan,

leader of the "federation."

The very small number of people who organized and plotted the turmoil used the fasting students as "hostages" and their life as a bet to blackmail the government by vile means, making the turmoil more serious.

During the student hunger strike, the Party and government maintained an attitude of utmost restraint and did everything they could in various aspects. First of all, staff members of various universities and leading officials at all levels and even Party and state leaders went to the Tiananmen Square to see the fasting students on many occasions and gave them ideological advice. Secondly, efforts were made to help the Red Cross Society mobilize more than 100 ambulances and several hundred medical workers to keep watch at the fasting site day and night; 52 hospitals were asked to have some 2,000 beds ready so that students who suffered shock or illness because of the hunger strike could get first-aid and timely treatment. Thirdly, all sorts of materials were provided to alleviate the sufferings of the fasting students and ensure their safety. The Beijing Municipal Party Committee and People's Government mobilized cadres, workers and vehicles to provide the fasting students with drinking water, edible salt and sugar via the Red Cross Society day and night. The Municipal Environment Sanitation Bureau sent sprinklers and offered basins and towels for the fasting students. Adequate supplies of medicine preventing sunstroke, cold and diarrhoea were provided by pharmaceutical companies and distributed by the Red Cross Society. The provisions department sent a large amount of soft drinks and bread to be used during emergency rescue of the students. A total of 6,000 straw hats were provided by commercial units and 1,000 quilts were sent by the Beijing Military Area Command, in response to the city authorities' request, to protect the fasting students from heat in the day and cold at night. To keep the hunger strike site clean, make-shift flush toilets were set up and sanitation workers cleaned the site at midnight. Before the

torrential rain on May 18, 78 coaches from the public transport company and 400 thick boards from the materials bureau were sent to protect the fasting students from rain and dampness. No fasting student died in the seven-day hunger strike.

But all this failed to get any positive response. Facts told people time and again that the very small number of organizers and plotters of the turmoil were determined to oppose us to the very end and that the problem could not be solved even with tolerance on 1,000 occasions and 10,000 concessions. It needs to be pointed out in particular that Comrade Zhao Ziyang did not do what he should have done when the situation quickly deteriorated, but instead stirred up the press with a wrong guidance for the public opinion, making the deteriorated situation more difficult to handle.

In his May 6 meeting with Comrades Hu Qili and Rui Xingwen, both then in charge of propaganda and ideological work in the Central Committee, Comrade Zhao Ziyang said, the press "has opened up a bit and there have been reports about the demonstrations. There is no big risk to open up a bit by reporting the demonstrations and increase the openness of news." He even said: "Confronted with the will of the people at home and the progressive trend worldwide, we could only guide our actions according to circumstances." Here, he even described the adverse current against the Chinese Communist Party and socialism as "will of the people at home" and "progressive trend worldwide." His instructions were passed on to major news media units in the capital the same day and many arrangements were made afterwards. As a result, the *People's Daily* and many other national newspapers and periodicals adopted an attitude of full acknowledgement and active support to the demonstrations, sit-in and hunger strike, devoting lengthy coverages with no less exaggeration. Even some Hong Kong newspapers expressed their surprise over this unique phenomenon.

Under the wrong guidance of the public opinion, the number

of people who took to the streets to support the students increased day by day as their momentum grew since May 15. The number of people involved grew from tens of thousands to a hundred thousand and several hundred thousand in addition to the 200,000 students who came from other parts of the country to show their support for the fasting students. For a time, it looked as if refusal to join in the demonstrations meant "un-patriotic" and refusal to show support was equal to "indifferent to the survival of the students." Under such circumstances, the fasting students were put on the back of a tiger and found it difficult to get off. Many parents of the students and teachers wrote to or called leading organs, press organizations, radio and TV stations, asking them not to force the fasting students on to the path of death and show mercy in saving the children and stopping this kind of "killing by creating public opinion." But this did not work. The students' hunger strike and the residents' demonstrations threw social order in Beijing into a mess and seriously disrupted the Sino-Soviet summit which was closely followed worldwide, forcing some changes on the agenda, with some activities even cancelled. Meanwhile, demonstrations in various major cities throughout China and even all provincial capitals registered a drastic increase in the number of people involved, while people also took to the streets in some small and medium-sized cities, producing a large scale of involvement and a serious disturbance never seen since the founding of the People's Republic.

In order to back up the students and add fuel to the flames of turmoil, some so-called "elitists" who took a stubborn stand for bourgeois liberalization threw away all disguises and came out to the front. On the evening of May 13, the big-character poster "We can no longer remain silent," written by Yan Jiaqi, Su Shaozhi, Bao Zunxin and others, appeared at Beijing University urging intellectuals to take part in the big demonstrations they had sponsored to support the students' hunger strike. On May 14, "Our urgent appeal for current situation" was

jointly made by 12 people including Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin, Li Honglin, Dai Qing (reporter with *Guangmin Daily*), Yu Haocheng (former director of the Mass Publishing House), Li Zehou (research fellow at the Philosophy Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Su Xiaokang (lecturer at the Beijing Broadcasting Institute), Wen Yuankai (professor at the China University of Science and Technology), and Liu Zaifu (director of the Literature Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). They demanded that the turmoil be declared "patriotic democratic movement" and the illegal student organization be declared legal, saying that they would also take part in the hunger strike if these demands were not met. This appeal was published on *Guangmin Daily* and broadcast on the China Central Television. These people also went to the Tiananmen Square many times to make speeches and agitation. They slandered against our government as "an incompetent government," saying that through the fasting students, "China's bright future can be envisioned." Then these people formed the illegal Beijing Union of Intellectuals and published the "May 16 Declaration," threatening with counter charges that "a promising China might be led into the abyss of real turmoil" if the government did not accept the political demands of the very small number of people.

As the situation became increasingly serious, Comrade Zhao Ziyang used the opportunity of meeting Gorbachev on May 16, deliberately directing the fire of criticism at Comrade Deng Xiaoping and making the situation even more worse. Right at the beginning of the meeting, he said: "Comrade Deng Xiaoping's helmsmanship is still needed for the most important issues. Since the 13th National Party Congress, we have always reported to Comrade Deng Xiaoping and asked for his advice while dealing with the most important issues." He also said that this was "the first" public disclosure of the "decision" by the Communist Party of China. On the following day, Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin and others published their most furious and vicious

"May 17 Declaration." They made such swears: "because the autocrat controls the unlimited power, the government has lost its own obligation and normal human feelings"; "despite Qing Dynasty's death 76 years ago, there is still an emperor in China though without such a title, a senile and fatuous autocrat." "General Secretary Zhao Ziyang declared publicly yesterday afternoon that all decisions in China must be approved by this decrepit autocrat." They said without any disguise in their hoarse voices, "Gerontocratic politics must end and the autocrat must resign." Some newspapers and periodicals in Hong Kong and Taiwan echoed their reactionary clamour. The Hong Kong newspaper *Express* published an article on May 18 entitled "Down with Deng and Li but not Zhao," it said, "Zhao Ziyang's speech was full of hints that the foul atmosphere at home now was caused by Deng Xiaoping's helmsmanship"; "at present the masses are eager to get rid of Deng and Li, while Zhao's role is almost open upon calling." It also added, "It is a good news for Hong Kong if Deng could be successfully ousted and China's reform embark on the path of legal rule with the realization of democracy." Against the backdrop of such screams, slogans smearing Comrade Deng Xiaoping and attacking Comrade Li Peng were all around. Some demanded "Deng Xiaoping step down" and "Li Peng step down to satisfy the people." Meanwhile, slogans like "Support Zhao Ziyang," "Long live Zhao Ziyang" and "Zhao Ziyang be promoted chairman of the Central Military Commission" could be seen and heard in the demonstrations and at Tiananmen Square. Plotters of the turmoil attempted to use the chaos as an opportunity to seize power. They distributed leaflets, proclaiming the founding of the Preparatory Committee to the People's Conference of All Circles in Beijing to replace the Municipal People's Congress. A call was made to establish "Beijing regional government" to replace the legal Beijing Municipal People's Government. They attacked the State Council, which was formed in accordance with the law, as "pseudo-government." They also

made rumours saying that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a dozen other ministries already "declared independence" from the State Council and that about 30 countries in the world broke diplomatic relations with our country. After the rumour that "Deng Xiaoping has stepped down" was made, some went to demonstrations carrying a coffin, burned Comrade Deng Xiaoping's effigy and set off firecrackers on Tiananmen Square to celebrate their "victory."

The situation in Beijing became increasingly serious, with anarchism viciously spreading and many areas sinking into complete chaos and white terror. If our Party and government did not take resolute measures under such circumstances, another vital chance would be missed and further irredeemable, great damages could be done. This would by no means be permitted by the broad masses of the people.

#### **Six. The Government had no alternative but to take the correct measure of declaring martial law in parts of Beijing**

To safeguard the social stability in the city of Beijing, to protect the safety of the lives and property of the citizens and ensure the normal functioning of the Party and government departments at the central level and of the Beijing Municipal Government, the State Council had no alternative but to declare martial law in parts of Beijing as empowered by Clause 16 of Article 89 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and at a time when police forces in Beijing were far inadequate to maintain the normal production, work and living order. This was a resolute and correct decision.

The decision on taking resolute measures to stop the turmoil was announced at a meeting called by the central authorities and attended by cadres from the Party, government and military institutions in Beijing on May 19. Comrade Zhao Ziyang, persisting in his erroneous stand against the correct decision of the central authorities, neither agreed to speak at the meeting

together with Comrade Li Peng nor agreed to preside over the meeting. He even didn't agree to attend the meeting. By doing so, he openly revealed his attitude of separating himself from the Party before the whole Party, the whole country and the whole world.

Prior to this, members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee met to discuss the issue of declaring martial law in parts of Beijing on May 17. On the same day, a few people who had access to top Party and state secrets gave the information away out of their counter-revolutionary political consideration. A person who worked at the side of Comrade Zhao Ziyang said to the leaders of the illegal student organization: "The troops are about to suppress you. All others have agreed. Zhao Ziyang was the only one who was against it. You must get prepared." On the evening of May 17, Bao Tong summoned some people from the Political Structural Reform Research Centre of the Party's Central Committee for a meeting. After divulging the secret on declaring the martial law, he made a "farewell speech" in which he warned the attendants not to reveal the schemes worked out at the meeting, saying that anyone who revealed them would be a "traitor," a "Judas." On May 19, Gao Shan, deputy bureau director of this Political Structural Reform Research Centre, hurried to the Economic Structural Reform Institute to pass on to those who were holding a meeting the so-called instructions from the "above." After that, the meeting, presided over by Chen Yizi, the institute director, drafted a "six-point statement on the current situation" in the name of the Economic structural Reform Research Institute, the Development Institute of the China Rural Development Research Centre under the State Council, the Institute on International Studies of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation and the Beijing Association of Young Economists. The statement, which was broadcasted at the Tiananmen Square and distributed widely, demanded "publicizing of the inside story of the

decision-making of the top leadership and the divergence of opinions" and "convening of a special session of the National People's Congress" and "a special congress of the Chinese Communist Party." It also urged the students on the Tiananmen Square to "end their hunger strike as soon as possible," hinting that the government "would adopt an extreme action (military control)." Soon after that, some people, who identified themselves as employees of the State Commission for Restructuring the Economy, went to the Tiananmen Square to deliver a speech in which they said: "With deep grief and extreme anger, we now disclose a piece of absolutely true news—General Secretary Zhao Ziyang has been dismissed from the post." The speakers called on the workers, students and shopkeepers to carry out nationwide strikes and instigated the masses to "take immediate actions to fight a life-and-death struggle." The speech was soon printed in the form of "*People's Daily extra*" which was widely distributed. On the same evening, leaflets entitled "several suggestions on the tactics of the student movement" were found at the Beijing railway station and other public places. It said that "at present, hunger strike and dialogues should no longer be our means and demands. We should hold peaceful sit-ins and raise clear-cut new political demands and slogans: 1. Comrade Ziyang mustn't be removed; 2. A special National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party be convened immediately; 3. A special session of the National People's Congress be held immediately." It also said that people "shouldn't be terrified by the coming troops" and that "this attitude should be explained time and again to the students before their coming." Some leaders of the Autonomous Students Union of Beijing Universities and the Beijing Autonomous Workers Union who had been arrested also confessed that at about four o'clock in the afternoon of May 19, someone holding a piece of paper and identifying himself as a staff worker of a certain organization under the Party's Central Committee, went to the "Tiananmen Square headquarters" and

revealed the news that martial law was about to be declared.

As a result of the close collaboration between a small number of people who had access to top Party and state secrets and the organizers and schemers of the turmoil, the organizers made timely adjustment to their tactics. That night, 45 minutes before the meeting called by the central authorities and attended by cadres from the Party, government and military institutions in Beijing, they changed the hunger strike to a sit-in in a bid to give people the false impression that since the students had already ended their hunger strike it was not necessary for the government to declare martial law. By so doing they also gained time to organize people and coerce those who were in the dark to set up roadblocks at major crossroads to stop the advance of the troops and to continue to mislead public opinion and confuse people's mind. While cursing viciously Comrade Deng Xiaoping and other proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation, saying that "we don't need Deng Xiaoping's wisdom and experience," they lavished praises on Comrade Zhao Ziyang by saying that "the country is hopeless without Ziyang as the Party leader" and that "give us back Ziyang." They also plotted to rally forces for greater turmoil, claiming that they were going to mobilize 200,000 people to occupy the Tiananmen Square and to organize a citywide general strike on May 20. Concerting with Comrade Zhao Ziyang's three-day sick leave which started on May 19, they spread the word that a "new government" would be established in three days.

Under the extremely urgent circumstances, the Party's Central Committee and the State Council decided resolutely to declare martial law in parts of Beijing, starting from 10 am, May 20, to prevent the situation from worsening and grasp the initiative to stop the turmoil so as to give support to the broad masses who were opposed to the turmoil and longed for stability. However, as the organizers and schemers of the turmoil had learnt of our decision before it was implemented, there were tremendous difficulties and obstacles to the troops' entry into

the city.

On the eve of declaring the martial law and in the first two days after it was declared, all major crossroads were blocked up. More than 220 buses were taken away and used as roadblocks. Transportation came to a standstill. Troops to enforce the martial law were not able to arrive at their designated places. The headquarters of the Party Central Committee and the State Council continued to be surrounded. Demagogic speeches could be heard anywhere on the street. Leaflets spreading rumours could be seen anywhere in the city. Demonstrations, each involving thousands of people, took place in succession and Beijing, our capital city, fell into total disorder and terror. In the following few days, the martial law troops managed to enter the city by different ways. Meanwhile, the armed police and security force continued to perform their duties by overcoming tremendous difficulties. Urban and suburban districts organized workers, residents and government office workers, as many as 120,000 people altogether, to maintain social order. The outer suburban counties also sent out militiamen. The concerted efforts of the troops, police and civilians helped improve the transportation, production and living order in the capital and people felt much at ease. But the very small number of people never stopped for a single day their activities to create turmoil and never changed their goal of overthrowing the leadership of the Communist Party. Things were developing day by day towards a counter-revolutionary rebellion.

One of the major tactics of the organizers and schemers of the turmoil after martial law was declared was to continue to stay on the Tiananmen Square. They wanted to turn the square into a "centre of the student movement and the whole nation." Once the government made a decision, they planned to make "strong reaction" at the square and form an "anti-government united front." These people had been planning to stir up bloodshedding incidents on the square, believing that "the govern-

ment would resort to suppression if the occupation of the square continues" and "blood can awaken people and split up the government."

To ensure that the situation on the square could be maintained, they used funds provided by reactionary forces both at home and abroad to improve their facilities and install advanced telecommunications devices, spending 100,000 yuan a day on an average. They even started illegal purchase of weapons. By using the tents provided by their Hong Kong supporters they set up "villages of freedom" and launched a "democracy university" on the square, claiming they would turn the university into "the Huangpu military school of the new era." They erected a so-called goddess statue in front of the Monument to the People's Heroes. The statue was formerly named the Goddess of Freedom but was later renamed Goddess of Democracy, showing that they took American-style democracy and freedom as their spiritual pillar.

Fearing that the students who took part in sit-in could not hold on, Liu Xiaobo and other behind-the-scene schemers went up to the front stage and performed a four-man farce of a 48-to-72 hour hunger strike so as to pep the students up. They said: "As long as the flags on the square are still up, we can continue our fight and spread it to the whole country until the government collapses."

Taking advantage of the restraint that the government and the troops still exercised after martial law was declared, the organizers and plotters of the turmoil continued to organize all kinds of illegal activities. Following the establishment of the Autonomous Students Union of Beijing Universities, the Beijing Autonomous Workers Union, the Fasting Contingent, the Tiananmen Square Headquarters and the Union of Capital's Intelligentsia, they set up more illegal organizations such as the Patriotic Joint Conference of People From All Walks of Life in the Capital for Upholding the Constitution and the Autonomous Union of Beijing Residents. In the name of Research

Institute for Restructuring Economic System, the Development Institute of the China Rural Development Research Centre under the State Council and the Beijing Association of Young Economists, they openly sent telegrammes to some of the troops in an attempt to incite defection. They were engaged in such underground activities to topple the government as organizing a special team in charge of moulding public opinion and making preparations to launch a underground newspaper.

They organized their sworn followers in taking a secret oath, claiming "under no condition should we betray our conscience, yield to autocracy and bow to the emperor of China in the 1980s." Wan Runnan, general manager of Stone Company, listed the following six conditions for retreating from the Tiananmen Square when he called together some leaders of the Autonomous Students Union of Beijing Universities in the International Hotel: "To withdraw the troops, cancel the martial law, remove Li Peng, ask Deng Xiaoping and Yang Shangkun to retire and let Zhao Ziyang resume his post." During the meeting, they also planned to organize "a grand march to claim victory at midnight." Moreover, as they believed that there was almost no hope of solving problems within the Party after Comrade Zhao Ziyang asked for sick leave, they pinned their hope on an emergency meeting by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin and others sent a telegramme to the leaders of the NPC Standing Committee, saying that "as the Constitution is being wantonly trampled by a few people, we hereby make an emergency appeal to hold an emergency meeting by the NPC Standing Committee immediately to solve the current critical problems."

Inspired by a certain member of the NPC Standing Committee, the Stone Research Institute of Social Development issued an opinion-collecting letter on the suggestion to convene such an emergency meeting. After getting the signature of several members of the NPC Standing Committee, it sent urgent tele-

grammes to the NPC Standing Committee members outside Beijing. Conspiratorially, they said nothing about their true purposes in those letters and telegrammes in an attempt to deceive those comrades who did not know the truth. They even went so far as to usurp the names of those comrades to serve their ulterior motives.

After doing all this, Yan Jiaqi and Bao Zunxin published an article on Hong Kong's *Ming Pao*, entitled "Solve China's Present Problems in a Democratic and Legal Way — also serves as a letter to Li Peng," which called "every member of the NPC Standing Committee and every deputy to the NPC to cast a sacred vote to rescind martial law and dismiss Li Peng as premier."

Organizers and instigators of the turmoil also agitated and organized action of violence in an unbridled fashion. They hooked up local hooligans, ruffians and criminals from other parts of the country, ex-convicts who did not turn over a new leaf and people who harboured deep hatred for the Communist Party and the socialist system to knock together so-called Dare-to-Die Corps, Flying Tiger Teams, Volunteer Army and other terrorist organizations, threatening to detain and kidnap Party and state leaders and "seize state power by means of storming the Bastille." They distributed leaflets to stir up counter-revolutionary armed rebellion, advocating "a single spark can start a prairie fire" and calling for establishing "armed forces that might be called the people's army," for "uniting with various forces including the Kuomintang in Taiwan" and for "a clear-cut stand to oppose the Communist Party and its government and not sparing to sacrifice lives."

They declared they would settle accounts with the Party and the government after the event and even prepared a blacklist of cadres to be suppressed. The Hong Kong-based *Ming Pao* published a "dialogue" on June 2 between Liu Xiaobo, one of the organizers and planners, and "a mainland democratic movement leader," in which Liu said: "We must organize an

armed force among the people to materialize Zhao Ziyang's comeback."

The activities of the instigators of the riots have strong financial backing. In addition to the materials worth some hundreds of thousands of yuan from the Stone Company and others, they also got support from hostile forces overseas and other organizations and individuals. Some people from the United States, Britain and Hong Kong offered them nearly one million US dollars and millions of Hong Kong dollars. Part of the money was used for activities to sabotage the martial law enforcement. Anyone who took part in establishing obstacles to stop traffic and block army vehicles could get 30 yuan a day. Also they set high prices to buy off rioters to burn military vehicles and beat soldiers, promising to offer 3,000 yuan for burning one vehicle and more money for capturing or killing soldiers.

A high-ranking official from Taiwan launched a campaign to "send love to Tiananmen" and took the lead of donating 100,000 Taiwan dollars. A member of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang in Taiwan suggested that 100 million Taiwan dollars be donated to establish a "fund to support mainland democratic movement." Some people of the Taiwan arts and cultural circles also launched "a campaign supporting the democratic movement on the mainland." A letter by the Autonomous Students Union of Beijing Universities to "Taiwan friends in art circles" said that "we heartily thank you and salute you for your material and spiritual support at this crucial moment."

All this shows that the turmoil planned, organized and premeditated by a few people could not be put down merely by making some concessions on the part of the government or just by issuing an order to impose martial law, contrary to the imagination of some kind-hearted people.

They have made up their minds to unite with all hostile forces overseas and in foreign countries to launch a battle against us to the last. All one-sided good will would lead only

to their unscrupulous attack against us and the longer the time the greater the price.

**Seven. How did an extremely small group of people manage to stir up the counter-revolutionary rebellion?**

The Chinese People's Liberation Army undertakes not only the sacred duty of "strengthening national defence, resisting aggression and defending the motherland" but also the noble responsibility of "safeguarding the people's peaceful labour, participating in national reconstruction and working hard to serve the people," which are provided in Article 29 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. It was exactly for carrying out the tasks entrusted to them by the Constitution that the troops entered the city proper and safeguarded social order.

After the announcement of martial law in some areas of the capital May 20, the troops, despite repeated obstructions, were mobilized to march towards the city proper in accordance with a deployment plan and by different ways to take up appointed positions. The handful of organizers and plotters of the rebellion were well aware that they would not be able to continue their illegal and counter-revolutionary activities and their conspiracy would come to nothing if the martial law troops took up positions in the centre of Beijing. Therefore, they started to create trouble deliberately and did their best to aggravate the unrest, which eventually developed into a counter-revolutionary rebellion.

On June 1 the Public Security Bureau detained a few of the ringleaders of the illegal "Federation of Autonomous Workers' Unions." The agitators of the rebellion then took advantage of this opportunity to incite some people to surround and attack the offices of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, the Municipal Party Committee and Government and the Ministry of Public Security. On the evening of June 2 a police jeep on

loan to the Chinese Central TV Station was involved in a traffic accident in which some people died. None of the victims was a student. This was deliberately distorted as a provocation by martial law troops. The conspirators attempted to seize the bodies and parade them in coffins, stirring up the people and making the atmosphere extremely tense. After this incitement and uproar they lit the fire of the counter-revolutionary rebellion.

In the small hours on June 3, while the martial law troops were heading for their positions according to schedule, agitators urged crowds to halt military and other motor vehicles, set up roadblocks, beat soldiers and loot trucks of materials at Jianguomen, Nanheyuan, Xidan, Muxidi and other road crossings. Some 12 military vehicles were halted by crowds near Caogezhuang. Soldiers marching past the Yangjing Hotel were stopped and searched by rioters, and military vehicles parked in front of the Beijing Telegraph Office had their tires slashed and were surrounded with road dividers.

About dawn, military vehicles on the Yongdingmen Bridge were overturned, others at Muxidi had their tires slashed and some 400 soldiers in Chaoyangmen was stoned. In the Liubukou and Hengertiao areas, military vehicles and soldiers were surrounded by unruly crowds.

Around 7:00 am, some rioters swarmed over military vehicles which had been halted at Liubukou and snatched machine guns and ammunition. From Jianguomen to Dongdan and in the Tianqiao area, martial law troops were surrounded and beaten. On the Jianguomen flyover some soldiers were stripped and others severely beaten.

Later in the morning, troops in the Hufangqiao area were beaten by rioters and some were blinded. The mob prevented some injured soldiers from reaching hospitals by deflating ambulance tires and the victims were dragged from the vehicles. From Hufang Road to Taoranting Park, 21 military vehicles were surrounded and halted. Policemen escorting the sol-

diers were beaten by the rioters.

From noon onward, many of the soldiers trapped by mobs and barricades at the southern end of the Fuyoujie, the northern end of the Zhengyilu, Xuanwumen, Hufangqiao Muxidi and Dongsi crossroads were injured and their equipment was taken away. At Liubukou policemen tried several times to recover a military truck loaded with arms and ammunition from an enraged mob but failed. They were then forced to use tear gas to disperse the rioters and recapture the dangerous cargo.

About the same time, mobs began to surround and assault buildings housing state organizations and establishments of vital importance, including the Great Hall of the People, the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television, as well as the west and south gates of Zhongnanhai, the seat of the Party Central Committee and the State Council. Dozens of policemen and guards there were injured.

As the situation rapidly deteriorated, the instigators of the upheaval became more vicious. At about 5:00 pm, the ringleaders of the illegal "Beijing Federation of Autonomous Students Unions of Universities and Colleges" and "Federation of Autonomous Workers' Unions" distributed knives, iron bars, chains and sharpened bamboo sticks, inciting the mobs to kill soldiers and members of the security forces. In a broadcast over loudspeakers in Tiananmen Square, the Federation of Autonomous Workers' Unions urged the people "to take up arms and overthrow the government." It also broadcast how to make and use Molotov cocktails and how to wreck and burn military vehicles.

A group of rioters organized about 1,000 people to push down the wall of a construction site near Xidan and stole tools, reinforcing bars and bricks, ready for street fighting.

They planned to incite people to take to the streets the next day, a Sunday, to stage a violent rebellion in an attempt to overthrow the government and seize power at one stroke.

At this critical juncture, the Party Central Committee, the State Council and the Central Military Commission decided to order troops poised on the outskirts of the capital to enforce martial law and quell the counter-revolutionary rebellion.

#### **Eight. How did the counter-revolutionary rebels injure and kill People's Liberation Armymen?**

Since the enforcement of martial law in Beijing, the martial law troops heading for Beijing proper tried their best to avoid conflicts, exercising great restraint in accordance with instructions of the Party Central Committee. After the June 3 riot happened and before the troops entered the city, the Beijing municipal government and the headquarters of the martial law enforcement troops issued an emergency announcement at 6:30 pm, which said, "All citizens must heighten their vigilance and keep off from the streets and not to go to Tiananmen Square as of the issuing of this notice. Workers should remain at their posts, and other citizens must stay at home to ensure their security." The announcement was broadcast over and over again on TV and radio.

About 10 pm on June 3, most of the martial law troops heading for Beijing proper from various directions had been halted at barricades set up at the main crossroads. Even so, the troops were still quite restrained, while the counter-revolutionary rioters took advantage to beat and kill soldiers, to seize military materials and burn military vehicles.

From 10 pm to 11 pm the same day, at Cuiweilu, Gongzhufen, Muxidi and Xidan, 12 military vehicles were burned. Some people threw bricks at soldiers. And some rioters pushed trolleybuses to the crossroads, set them on fire and blocked the roads. When some fire engines got there, they were also smashed and burned.

Around 11 pm three military vehicles were wrecked and one

jeep was overturned at Hufangqiao and military vehicles on Andingmen overpass were surrounded. In Chongwenmen Street, a regiment of soldiers were surrounded, and on Jianguomen overpass 30 military vehicles were halted by barricades and another 300 military vehicles were halted to the west of the Beijing Coal Industrial School.

Trying to persuade the rioters to let them through, PLA men from warrant officers to generals were beaten up or kidnapped.

To avoid conflicts, the barricaded military vehicles in Nanyuan Sanyingmen made a detour. When they reached the southern gate of the Temple of Heaven, they were halted again and many of these vehicles were wrecked and burned. One military vehicle was halted in Zhushikou and a group of people swarmed over it. When a man looking like a cadre came up and tried to persuade them to leave it alone he was severely beaten and no one knows whether he died or not.

Just after dawn on June 4, more military vehicles were burned. Several hundred military vehicles on dozens of road crossings in Tiantan Dongce Road, northern gate of Temple of Heaven, western exit of the subway in Qianmen, Qianmen Donglu, Fuyou Street, Liubukou, Xidan, Fuxingmen, Nanlishilu, Muxidi, Lianhuachi, Chegongzhuang, Donghuamen, Dongzhimen, Dabeyao, Hujialou, Beidougezhuang and Jiugongxiang in Daxing County were attacked with Molotov cocktails. Some soldiers were burned to death, and some others were beaten to death. In some areas, several dozens of military vehicles were burned at the same time.

At the Shuangjing crossroad, more than 70 armoured personnel carriers were surrounded and machine guns ripped from 20 of them.

From Jingyuan crossroad to Laoshan crematorium, more than 30 military vehicles were burned at the same time. Some rioters with iron bars and gasoline drums, waiting on the crossroads to burn passing motor vehicle. And many military vehicles carrying food, bedding and clothing were hijacked.

Several mobs drove snatched armoured personnel carriers along the Fuxingmen overpass area firing its guns. The "Federation of Autonomous Workers' Unions" claimed in their own broadcast that they had taken away a military transceiver and a cipher code book.

The mobs also assaulted civilian installations and public buildings. Shop windows including those of the Yanshan Department Store in Xicheng District were broken. Pine trees in front of Tiananmen gate and the western part of Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall were burned. Some public buses, fire engines, ambulances and taxis were also wrecked and burned. Some people even drove a public bus loaded with gasoline drums towards the Tiananmen rostrum and attempted to set fire to it. They were stopped by martial law troops on the southern side of Golden Water Bridges.

The mobs also murdered soldiers in various bestial ways. About dawn on June 4, some mobs beat up soldiers with bottles and bricks at Dongdan crossroad. In Fuxingmen, a military vehicle was surrounded and 12 soldiers were dragged off the vehicle. They were searched and severely beaten. Many of them were badly injured. In Liubukou, four soldiers were surrounded and beaten up, and some were beaten to death. In the Guangqumen area, three soldiers were severely beaten. One was rescued by some bystanders and the other two have not been found yet. In Xixingsheng lane of the Xicheng District, more than 20 armed policemen were beaten up by mobs; some were badly injured, and the others' whereabouts are unknown. In Huguosi, a military vehicle was halted, and soldiers on it were beaten up and detained as hostages. Submachine guns were snatched. A truck full of bricks drove from Dong Jiaominxiang to Tiananmen Square, and people on the truck shouted "if you are really a Chinese, attack the soldiers."

After dawn, a police ambulance carrying eight injured soldiers to a hospital was halted by mobs. They beat a soldier to death and shouted that they would do the same to the other

seven. In front of a bicycle shop in Qianmen Street, three soldiers were severely beaten by hooligans, who threatened anyone who tried to rescue them. On Changan Avenue a military vehicle broke down suddenly, and was attacked right away by about 200 rioters. The driver was killed inside the cab. About 30 metres to the east of Xidan crossroad, another soldier was beaten to death. Then the mob poured gasoline over his body and set fire to it. In Fuchengmen, another soldier's body was hung over the overpass after he had been savagely killed. In Chongwenmen, a soldier was thrown from the overpass and burned alive. Near the Capital Cinema on West Changan Avenue, an officer was beaten to death, disembowelled and his eyes plucked out. His body was then strung up on a burning bus.

In the several days of the rebellion, more than 1,280 military vehicles, police cars and public buses were wrecked, burned or otherwise damaged. Of the vehicles, over 1,000 were military vehicles, more than 60 were armoured personnel carriers and about 30 were police cars. More than 120 public buses were destroyed as well as more than 70 other kinds of motor vehicles. During the same period, arms and ammunition were stolen. More than 6,000 martial law soldiers, armed police and public security officers were injured and the death toll reached several dozens. They sacrificed their blood and even their precious lives to defend the motherland, the Constitution and the people. The people will remember their contributions.

Such heavy losses are eloquent testimony to the restraint and tolerance shown by the martial law troops. The PLA is an army led by the Chinese Communist Party and serves the people whole-heartedly. They are ruthless to the enemy but kind to the people. They were able to defeat the eight million Kuomintang troops armed by US imperialism during the war years and able to defeat US imperialism which was armed to the teeth, and to effectively safeguard the sacred territory and territorial waters and air space of our country. So why did they suffer such great

casualties in quelling the counter-revolutionary rebellion? Why were they beaten and even killed, even when they had weapons in their hands. It is just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It was because bad people mingled with the good, which made it difficult for us to take the firm measures that were necessary." It also showed that the PLA love the people and are unwilling to injure civilians by accident. The fact that they met death and sacrificed themselves with generosity and without fear fully embodies the nature of the PLA. Otherwise how could there be such a great number of casualties and losses? Doesn't this reflect that the army defends the people at the cost of its own life? In order to quell the counter-revolutionary rebellion and to avoid more losses, the martial law troops, having suffered heavy casualties and been driven beyond forbearance, were forced to fire in the air to open the way forward after repeated warnings.

During the counter-attack, some rioters were killed. Because there were numerous bystanders, some were knocked down by vehicles, some were trampled on or were hit by stray bullets. Some were wounded or killed by ruffians who had seized rifles. According to the information we have so far gathered, more than 3,000 civilians were wounded and over 200, including 36 college students, died during the riot. Among the non-military casualties were rioters who deserved the punishment, people accidentally injured, and doctors and other people who were carrying out various duties on the spot. The government will do its best to deal with the problems arising from the deaths of the latter two kinds of people.

Due to a rumour spread by the Voice of America and some people who deliberately wished to spread rumours, people talked about a "Tiananmen bloodbath" and "thousands of people massacred." The facts are that after the martial law troops reached Tiananmen Square at 1:30 am, the Beijing municipal government and the martial law headquarters issued an emergency notice, which stated: "A serious counter-

revolutionary rebellion occurred in the capital this evening" and "all citizens and students in Tiananmen Square should leave immediately to ensure that martial law troops will be able to implement their tasks." The notice was broadcast repeatedly for three hours through loud-speakers. The sit-in students gathered around the Monument to the People's Heroes in the southern part of the square. At around 3:00 am, they sent representatives to the troops to express their desire to withdraw from the square voluntarily and this was welcomed by the troops. At 4:30 am, the martial law headquarters broadcast the following notice: "It is time to clear the square and the martial law headquarters accepts the request of the students to be allowed to withdraw." At the same time, another notice on quickly restoring normal order to the square was issued by the municipal government and the headquarters and broadcast. After hearing this, the several thousand students organized hand-in-hand pickets and started to leave the square in an orderly manner, carrying their own banners and streamers. At about 5:00 am the troops vacated a wide corridor in the southeastern part of the square to ensure the smooth and safe departure of the students. At the same time, a few students who refused to leave were forced to leave by martial law troops. By 5:30 am, the clearing operation of the square had been completed. During the whole operation no one, including the students who refused but were forced to leave, died. Tales of "rivers of blood" in Tiananmen Square and the rumour-mongers themselves "escaping from underneath piles of corpse" are sheer nonsense.

The counter-revolutionary rebellion was put down with Tiananmen Square returning to the hands of the people and all martial law enforcement troops taking up their assigned positions. During the quelling of the counter-revolutionary rebellion, the PLA, the armed police and the public security police fought valiantly and performed immortal feats. And many people gave first-aid to the wounded and rescued besieged

soldiers, rendering their co-operation and support to the martial law enforcement troops. Due to the turmoil and the counter-revolutionary rebellion, Beijing has suffered heavy losses in its economy and losses in other fields can not be counted with money. Workers, peasants and intellectuals are now working hard to retrieve the losses. Now, order in the capital has fundamentally returned to normal and the situation throughout China is also tending to become clam, which shows that the correct decision made by the Party's Central Committee has benefitted the Chinese people of all nationalities. Yet, the unrest and the rebellion are not completely over, as a handful of counter-revolutionary rioters refuse to recognize defeat and still indulge in sabotage, and even dream of staging a comeback.

In order to achieve thorough victory, we should mobilize the people completely, strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and spare no effort to ferret out the counter-revolutionary rioters. We should uncover instigators and rebellious conspirators, and punish the organizers and schemers of the unrest and the counter-revolutionary rebellion, that is, those who obstinately stuck to the path of bourgeois liberalization and conspired to instigate rebellion, those who colluded with overseas and other foreign hostile forces, those who provided illegal organizations with top secrets of the Party and state, and those who committed the atrocities of beating, smashing, grabbing and burning during the disturbances. We should make a clear distinction between two different types of contradictions and deal with them accordingly through resolute, hard and painstaking work. We must educate and unite people as much as possible and focus the crackdown on a handful of principal culprits and diehards who refuse to repent. On this basis, we will retrieve all the losses suffered in the unrest and the counter-revolutionary rebellion as soon as possible. For this, we must rely on the people, try to increase production, practice the strict economy and struggle arduously.

Chairman, vice-chairmen and Standing Committee members,

our country's just struggle to quell the unrest and the counter-revolutionary rebellion has won the understanding and support of governments and people of many countries. We extend our wholehearted gratitude to them. However, there are also some countries, mainly the US and some West European countries, which have distorted the facts, spread slanderous rumours and even uttered so-called condemnations and imposed sanctions on our country to set off an anti-China wave and wantonly interfere in our country's internal affairs. We deeply regret this. As for the outside pressures, our government and people have never submitted to them, not this time nor any time. The rumours will be cleared and the truth and facts will come out.

Our country will unswervingly take economic construction as the central task and persist in the Four Cardinal Principles and in economic reform and opening up to the outside world. Our country will, as always, adhere to our independent foreign policy of peace, continue to develop friendly relations with all countries in the world on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and make our contributions to the safeguarding of world peace and the promotion of world development.

关于反政府暴乱的报告

★

新星出版社出版

北京车公庄西路 19 号

邮政编码: 100044

1989 年(32 开)第一版

(英)

ISBN 7-80085-021-8/D·22 (外)

3—E—2472 P